[P. 479] Paleuyan. Tubatulabal US22

Y 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y [752] Rattlesnake (te'ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo'pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y [145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y 756 787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

Y [828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

T Y 756 754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati'sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu'ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y 789 791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo''no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo'no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

[P.476] Paleuymi

789 and lost continuously. People teased him unduly and he became very angry. The following
791 day he called on all his powers (aí·n·č) to make a storm that would destroy the houses of those who had twitted him. A terrible hailstorm came out of a clear sky.[114] M.A. and her sister had gone to the river for water. They ran up a hill and crouched under some rocks for shelter. The storm continued unabated for an hour and many houses were washed away.

This rain-maker was known to Powers, who states that in 1870 he traveled as far north as Kings River offering to make rain for pay. The following year, another one of drought, he made a second pilgrimage, was paid abundantly, and caused rain to fall.[115]

A reference to Hopodno by Kroeber may be a reverberation of M.A.'s anecdote. Speaking of rain-makers he says, "The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners."[116]

## CEREMONIES

### Rattlesnake Ritual

796 M.A. remembers only one Rattlesnake Ritual at Tule, the one to which Solopono took the snake she had pacified. At this ceremony he picked the snake up by the tail and made it bite his back and wrist; then he fell over. A doctor named Čí·čen revived him. Solopono was a Yaudanchi; another snake-handler there was Po·slili, a Wukchumni (sic, undoubtedly Puš·l·n, the Choinimni); all the others were strangers: there were six of these men who danced with snakes.

### Jimsonweed Ritual

796 M.A. saw jimsonweed drinking at Tule; al-
276 though she did not partake herself, her mother did. Her mother was sick and wanted to discover the cause: she saw that the cause of her sickness was up at Woodlake (she was a Yokod). Most people took it "to see the future."

The ritual was held in the spring. It was always conducted by the same man, Wilihana. The leader of the ritual was called tañai·''·ts; he prepared and administered the decoction. Both sexes drank together. Each person had his own drinking basket which was dipped into a

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[114] Just after this incident was related, heavy raindrops suddenly fell on us from a single cloud in a sunny blue sky. Both informant and interpreter laughed heartily and said, "That must be him now."

[115] Powers, 372.

[116] Handbook, 518; see also Gayton and Newman, 104.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P.696]

302

386 (hoso ˊša, J.B.; hoš̌o ˊhɨt, M.L.; white color, čau ˊdod, J.B.) was made of pulverized shells. All paints were mixed with grease for application.

302 Differences in the use of paint by men and women lay only in the method of application. The same patterns were used by both, but the solid line of pigment used by men was broken up into a line of dots by women. Red paint was smeared lightly over the face when a woman was going to end the meat tabu after pregnancy or bereavement. Any woman taking part in a dance might put on red paint this way and then add a horizontal row of white dots on each cheek.

[822] Both sexes used red and white paint, but black paint was associated with doctoring. Men with Crow totem used it, as did Bear and Coyote totemites on occasion. A doctor, when attired for a pleasure dance or display, covered his face with black paint and his body with short white diagonal stripes. Wukchumni patterns are shown in figure 4.

[791]

Paint was not used as insignia by chiefs, messengers, singers, or, in fact, by anyone. It was assumed only for dance, ritual, or gala occasion (J.B., M.L.).

304 Tattooing.---Many women used tattooing as a permanent form of personal decoration. It was done of their own volition, usually in young womanhood but before marriage. The only motivation, other than vanity, was the belief

[827] that it prevented one from getting old and wrinkled. (M.P.). Young girls who were close friends often had themselves tattooed at the same time. Only one form of tattooing had religious significance; this was a small pattern placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist. Only a few examples of this type were observed, on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men. This spot is said to

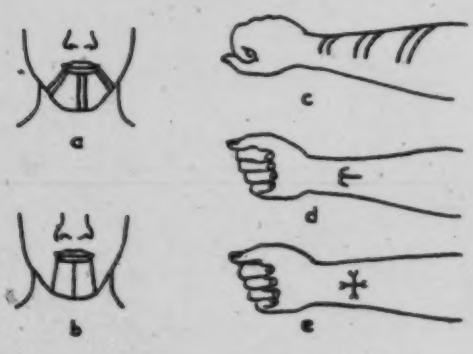


Fig. 9. Women's tattoo marks. a, c, Wukchumni (M.L.). b, d, Telamni (T.W.). e, Wukchumni (M.P.).

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
●791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

756 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

## VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.---A dance (he´š:š na´m:t)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., heš:š nam:t dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´w:t) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and S:´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.---Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

755 about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota $20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this [publicly ?]. He was paid about $20.00.

754 When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was be-
768 lieved that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

754 Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune ?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbitskin blankets: he took away the stick.[143]

756 Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case: "If you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

## Curing Shamans

According to N.W. there were but two types
● [791] of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of

[143] The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only a few whites were in the neighborhood: the Enker family was at Coarse Gold, but not the Krohns.

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
kill any animal of that breed. One actual
756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

787 She did not know whether white people dreamed in this way but opined that they might, especially if they "believed that way." "The Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a little girl.

## Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
778 rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
556 scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to those held by other Yokuts groups. According to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a large rock. He would talk to the rock, which would open so he could get his things. Each doctor had his own place; his things would be in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he had created by means of his power. The opening thereto was not palpable to others: "You could go over that rock a thousand times and not find the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[789] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safeguard himself by rubbing his hands with wormweed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

## Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
682 made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
278 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hanging on a clothesline. When she put on the dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person with it. L.W. would have to do it or she herself would die [at the poisoner's hands ?]. Even today these people [poisoners] are feared although no poisonings have occurred "since a long time ago."

## Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a living rain shaman, although dreaming was an essential part of success. A father usually taught one of his sons and left him his outfit when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[385] N.W. saw him when he was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[385] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

791 [787] animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

[764] Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she thought.) 791 Whenever it was dry in this region, Soket would put some of his seeds in water, 789 then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

## Rattlesnake Shamans

756 752 Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[146] Handbook, 518.

W Y 787 "I just said, 'As long as I live I will see you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[185]

778 To accept a dream of this type, i.e., getting down safely off a height, would give the dreamer power to do this in real life. S.O. explained his rejection of this by his blindness which did not permit him "to go around any places like that."

W Y 756 778 787 5. It was not considered wise or in good taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but particularly was it a matter of caution not to let a shaman suspect one of having a competitive amount of tʉpni. "People never told what they dreamed or what their talisman was except to their most trusted friends." If one person said to another, "You have lots of power," the person addressed replied in kind, "It is you who have lots of power," as the perception of power in another was thought to indicate the possession of power by the perceiver. Since shamans, of course, had this power (of perception) it was thought to be difficult to keep them from knowing about one's private abilities. Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year (hibernation period), he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai'ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he was following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

(That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.)

## Flying Power

W Y 791 789 A special type of power, that of jumping or "flying" through space for a considerable

[185] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: ama'mao pa''anac na mum ia''ika (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

1: Gayton E-8 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 243 b] Western Mono NS25-
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distance, was called mai''iwan by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[186] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi'i'i'i'!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, "he landed in a bunch of people." As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. Just as the bear was upon him he called out, "hwi'i'i'i'!" and flew off. This he repeated several times until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

## Miscellaneous Data

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The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ainič) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Hai'puš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a'oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wililohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped. Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

[186] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 245 a [illegible] Mono NS25

W Y 753 The symptoms resulting from intrusions and poisoning are impossible to distinguish, although S.O. tried to categorize them. Intrusion caused delirium, "made the patient grab around." The intruding object, which might be "anything," but usually proved to be such things as fingernails, the hair of a dead person, sand, or insects, was thought to enter into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows. W Y [755] Intrusive objects were always projected by a shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The technique for removal was cutting and sucking. The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor (or by his winatum) and destroyed by fire or burial. The cure was immediately effective.

Poisoning was a vague cause to which many kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particularly those accompanied by severe pain, perhaps in the joints, which could scarcely be caused by an actual intestinal poison. W Y [789] It seems to be based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus persons fell ill from touching "poisoned" objects such as baskets, articles of clothing, etc. The cure for this was the blowing and rubbing technique. (Yet we saw above S.O. used this technique for curing an objective sickness, the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.) Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to it.

W Y 754 S.O. said that "a person receiving a severe fright would know that a doctor was going to sicken him." In such cases the fright was believed to be as much a contributing cause of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar circumstances, would realize at once he was someone's victim. His fear would bring on a self-induced illness. Another favorite method of shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a specified house: on hearing it the inmates felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people, and the person nearest it thought he was doomed: no ordinary dove would so behave. Such creatures would also come as doctor's messengers to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were well known to S.O. and attested by several anecdotes, which have already been published.[188]

## Rain-making

W Y 789 There were no persons among the Michahai or Waksachi who had power to control the weather. Like informants from other central 791 and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O. said that all weather shamans were "southerners." Two rain-makers, Su'mɨk and Taku'mum, visited the Michahai village of Tušao and displayed their powers.

[188] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 245b Western Mono 525

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Sum:k was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto´'o ti ñaš (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sum:k who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka´wa seeds: these were his talismans (ain:č). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo´to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sum:k died, someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sum:k and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sum:k threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

## CEREMONIES

### Jimsonweed Ritual

W Y 796 276

Jimsonweed (ta ñai) was drunk ritually by men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

W Y [758]

At Tušao the drink was taken in March by participants about eighteen to twenty years of age. To take it was not compulsory although S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

[189] Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or shells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



## THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 791 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer. [764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

[292 302] Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rainmaker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

789 648 To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose drying crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

789 778 Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic stone, which when properly invoked by song and dance, could produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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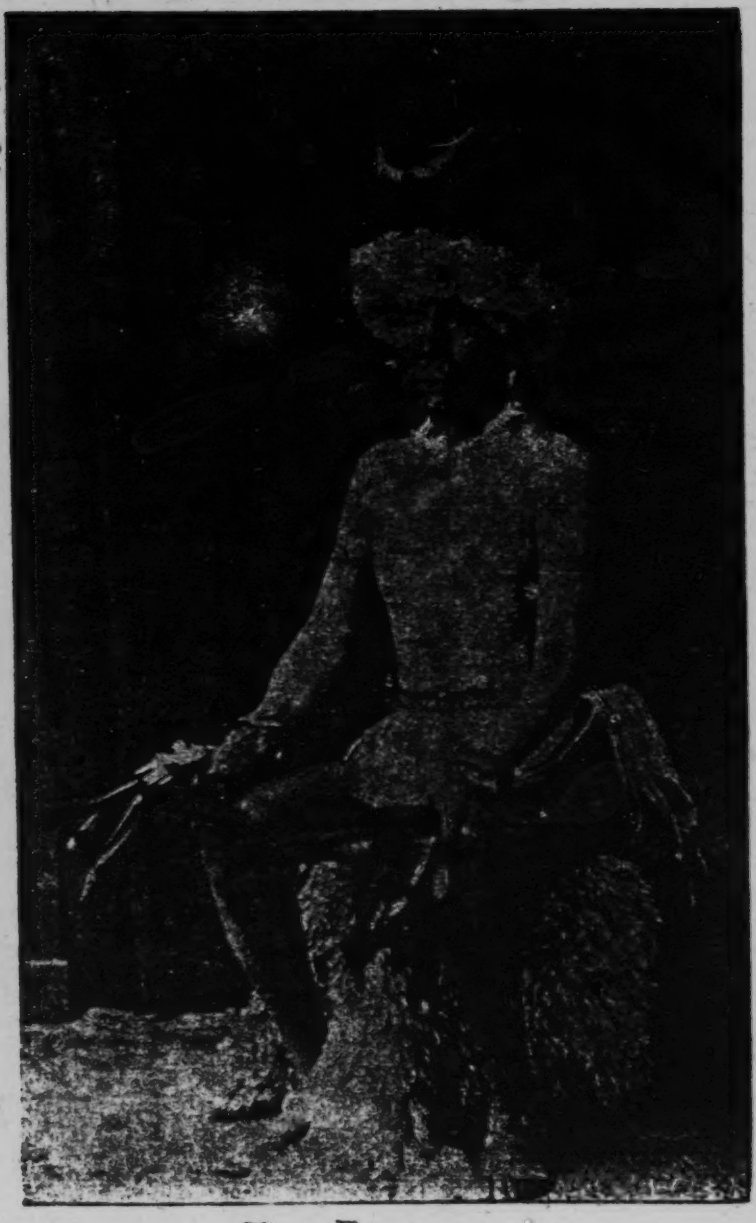

[p.202]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sinel, a Tachi medicine man and rain-maker from the north shore of Tulare Lake. He was born and died at the old Tachi village of Waiu, southeast of present Lemoore. His medicine costume is authentic, except for the wire belt and the beaded band worn diagonally across his chest. The wristlets and necklace are made of primitive periwinkle shell and soapstone beads. The large spangles are of abalone shell. The top of the headdress is made of magpie tail feathers, surrounded by a string of fine, down-covered feathers from the breast of the eagle. Next below is a mass of split crow tail-feathers and around the brow is a down-covered band. In the older days Sinel's face and body would have been painted black, his face decorated with large dots and his legs and arms with stripes of pure white paint made of native chalk. The ear ornaments are made of sparrow hawk and flicker feathers, the batons of red-tailed hawk and sparrow-hawk feathers. The skirt is made of milkweed strings into which have been twisted down from the breast of the eagle. The tips of the skirt strings have tied to them the tips of the tail feathers from the red-tailed hawk. Photo furnished by Mrs. Mary Pohut.

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6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29



796 826 614 [787] The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[22]

The bear men remembered are Ununigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Teineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796 The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[23]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony [755] during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over [782] which the doctors had control through dreams.)

622 344 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[22] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[23] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29



and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tĕss*). Ke'-ya, who lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29



liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with superhuman power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain.

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29



pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29



ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their more elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29



# NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

121 THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tule Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom
115 the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

796 When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts
789 held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier.
796 The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who
789 became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him
578 by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans
791 and had taught this art to the young man.

796 José said that the young man first got a container full of
789 water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

He then began to "act crazy." He rolled across the ground, picked up ashes and dirt and threw them into the air, and made certain use of a cord of eagle-down. He gesticulated, talked, and prayed. Soon a wisp of cloud began to blow across the sky and shortly thereafter lightning flashed and a rumbling came from the earth. People had brought watermelons to the fiesta, and when the hail began to fall it drummed loudly against them, making a sound that José had never forgotten. All of the Indians looking on became frightened, particularly the old man tied to the post and exposed to the storm. Everything became wet. All of the people were so concerned that the head-man went up to the young weather shaman and asked him to stop the rain, saying that he would be well paid if he did so. The young man heeded the request and received a considerable sum of money. In the meantime the old man who had been the cause of the display of power by the weather shaman was cut loose from the post by some of his friends and he fled for his life.

José was not just too sure how the young man caused the rain to stop, but he thought that the rain was dissipated when the shaman spit something on a hot rock, possibly tobacco. The rising vapors were supposed to have caused the clouds to vanish and bring the rain to an end.

After telling about the successful display of power by the weather shaman, José proceeded to tell something about the activities of the young man's grandfather who used to travel among the various Yokuts groups to bring rain for them. The Yokuts, José said, used to burn off the old cover of grass and weeds, and with the rain supplied by the weather shaman they would be assured of a good crop of grasses and other beneficial plants from which they harvested seeds or obtained other products. When the grandfather came among the Yokuts people, he was supposed not to have brought along his rain shaman's outfit, but just sang, danced, and talked. For these services he rendered the old man was well paid in shell money.

José did not know who the old man was, but he did say that he lived for some time at Fort Tejón, and later with his son at Kernville where the latter lived with his wife, a Koyeti Yokuts woman. It was the son of this couple who produced hail and rain at the fiesta attended by José. It is possible that this old man was Hopodno of 1870 fame (Powers, 1877, pp. 372-373; Kroeber, 1924, pp. 511-512). José said that the old man had had contact with the coast people, the Tokya (Chumash), and that he could speak their language and may have

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29



791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
[578] Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
[578] Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
[578] the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
798 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

Chumash NS7 Yokuts NS29

C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 776 791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T 754 825 177 776 791 [171] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T Y 756 789 791 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

Y 756 789 [415] 791

in red and white stripes (see section on Dress and Adornment). Then they came back to a level place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

T Y 756 789 791

Although most of informants said this was doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only shamans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

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One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon; in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that game; the white man saw when they shot each other.

"Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that